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NOW WHEN YOU GET UP TO SEE THE CONGRESSMAN . . . .
It was at the great youth demonstration for integration in Washington, and Richard Parrish, a New York school teacher, was instructing a line of kids on what to do when they presented a petition to Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) when they got to see him on the speakers' platform. All in all it was quite a day (see right).

THEY CAME FROM 37 STATES

26,000 young people rally in Washington against segregation

By Louis E. Burnham
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

EXCEEDING ALL advance estimates, the Youth March for Integrated Schools brought 26,000 young people to the nation's capital on April 18 in the biggest demonstration yet organized to demand implementation of the Supreme Court's 1954 anti-segregation ruling. Rev. Martin Luther King told them, as they sat at the foot of the Washington monument to listen to an imposing array of adult speakers, that they were representatives of what history would probably call, not the beat generation, but the "generation of integration."

As delegations arrived on buses, trains and planes from 37 states they gathered on the mall, turned in their share of the 400,000 signatures which had been gathered throughout the country, and waited for the march to begin. As they relaxed on the grass singing songs or moved around swapping greetings and experiences, they provided a striking example of how a vital social issue can weld out of the vast diversity of the nation a solid unity of purpose.

They came from high schools and colleges, factories and offices, big cities and small towns, North and South. The New York metropolitan area accounted for roughly half the marchers, but no part of the country was unrepresented. Maryland sent 2,000 marchers and Virginia added nearly 600. While representation from the rest of the South was sparse, a busload of teen-agers made the trip from Durham, N.C., and a carload drove up from Shreveport, La.

ALL KINDS: The variety was more than geographical. Young pacifists stood by as a group of youthful cadets practiced their capers and the marching band of Columbia Lodge 85 of the Negro Elks played a martial tune. Liberal and radical students, with hightly sophisticated political views, exchanged ideas with youth whose main motivation for social action had come from their church connections.

Predominantly-Negro Wilberforce U. and predominantly-white Antioch Col-

(Continued on Page 6)

Mauldin in St. Louis Post Dispatch
"They want to go slow, child. That's what they said 80 years ago."

WHAT'S POOR IKE GOING TO DO WITHOUT DULLES?

Pentagon running wild as Herter takes over

By Kumar Goshal

WHEN JOHN FOSTER DULLES resigned as U.S. Secy. of State on April 16 and was replaced by Undersecy. Christian Herter three days later, the elaborate foreign policy structure he had laboriously constructed was falling apart. America's allies had failed to agree on what they would propose at the May 11 East-West foreign ministers' conference at Geneva, and American generals were running amok.

As Secy. of State, Dulles in 1953 inherited the Truman-Acheson policy of "containment of communism," a policy which he helped make. During the next six and a half years he roamed the world and elaborated on the policy. He continued to do so even after the "containment" policy itself had been repudiated by its originator, George F. Kennan, and the elaborations themselves had failed miserably.

• "Liberation" of the Eastern European countries has been a dismal failure; their socialist governments are more

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AUTOMATION MAKES UNEMPLOYMENT CHRONIC

Economists dispute government forecasts on jobs

By Robert E. Light

ADMINISTRATION ECONOMISTS totaled the latest reports on major business indicators and danced a jig. The economy, they said, has recovered from the "recession" and will advance to new heights, wiping out mass unemployment on the way. But private calculators looking at the same statistics saw no relief for the jobless and predicted chronic unemployment due mainly to automation.

Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell promised to eat his hat if the jobless numbered more than 3,000,000 in October. Raymond J. Saulnier, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, supported Mitchell's prediction; he foresaw a booming economy producing a gross national product of more than $600 billion by 1965. To them the key to economic health is growth, which in turn, they see as dependent on rising productivity.

To support their rosy view they point to these factors:

• The economy will probably set records this year for industrial production, personal income, retail sales, total number of people employed and gross national product.

• Corporate profits before taxes may reach $50 billion this year—37% more than in 1958.

• A survey on capital spending by McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. shows that business plans to spend $34.2 billion on new plant equipment in 1959, 7% more than last year, and an even greater sum in 1960. McGraw-Hill said it was the first time in the history of its research that businessmen planned so far ahead for plant expansion.

THE DISPLACED WORKER: By Administration arithmetic, the sum of business spending, consumer outlays and the

(Continued on Page 8)

THE MAIL BAG

Poet Faiz free

GLEN ELLEN, CALIF.

Readers of the GUARDIAN will be glad to know that Pakistani poet Ahmed Faiz (GUARDIAN, March 30) has been released from prison following a world-wide protest. The news came in a letter from Mrs. Faiz.

Albert E. Kahn

Cancer Research, Inc.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Those interested in the articles on Krebiozen should know of an organization in New York doing a tremendous service. The Independent Cancer Research Foundation, Inc., is a non-profit group issuing periodic, impartial reports on progress in cancer research. Its members receive no pay; the foundation depends entirely on donations from the public. The address: 118 W. 57th Street, N.Y. 19.

Thomas Grabell

Direct conflict

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The brutal attack upon the peace-loving people of Tibet by the imperialistic, totalitarian government of Red China has stunned the world. It has done so just as did the even more brutal attack more than two years ago by the Soviet Reds upon the defenseless people of Hungary, who were striving to create a socialist society.

Anybody who considers himself to be a radical, left-winger, socialist, or progressive has no recourse but to denounce the perpetrators of this latest atrocity, which is typical of decadent communism. Because its position is in direct conflict with yours, my letter will, of course, not reach print in your publication, but I just want you to know how one socialist feels.

Emmett Baker Groseclose

Dilemma

NEW YORK, N.Y.

What can we do against the diabolical plan of the Russians to get out of Berlin and make a peace treaty with East Germany? And what can we do against the diabolical plan of the Chinese **not** to get out of Tibet where they stay according to their peace treaty of 1951?

John H. Beck

Topsy-turvyness

STATEN ISLAND, N.Y.

The separation of the Dalai Lama and his heirarchy of 250,000 lamas from political and economic hegemony over 2,000,000 Tibetans has caused quite a stir in the Western press. It has been roundly denounced in the name of freedom all over the Western world. The Tibetan peasant, who until now has had to bear the feudal burden of their support, must be confused at the topsy-turvyness of the free world. To be really free, he is told by the West, he must return to his feudal theocracy and wait till they all get off his economic back by their own will.

This, I am sure, he will not do. Instead he must listen with amusement to radio broadcasts from Rome, where the Western world's greatest religious leader, the Holy Father, is beginning to exercise temporal powers, such as limiting their vote to approved candidates, on pain of excommunication. Thus it can be said that while backward Tibet is emerging from theocracy, the free, civilized, anti-communist world is entering therein.

Gilbert Wasserman

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The U.S., the President reiterated, obviously does not want a war that might mean the destruction of civilization, although it has the strength to wage and win one.

—**Time magazine, 3/23**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. D., Saskatoon, Sask., Canada.

The mail pilferers

GRAVENHURST, CANADA

From myself and all of us in **Northern Neighbors** and Northern Book House, hearty thanks and congratulations for your War of the Little Red Hen.

Don't take offense when I say that along with many of your readers we've been fighting this for years. A few weeks ago we sent out a long letter to thousands of Americans, telling them a few truths about the mail pilferers. The response has astonished us.

I think you know that the U.S. is not exactly riding a wave of popularity in Canada nowadays. So it is heart-warming to discover how many splendid people live in your country. The struggle to defend what is left of American democracy brings home the hard fact that your fight for freedom is Canada's also, and Canadians will win liberation from American occupation only when you, too, no longer kneel to the Pentagon.

At times, we have felt a bit cynical about "that real America, the land of Lincoln and Joe Hill." We don't feel that way now. We know thousands of addresses in the U.S. where Abe and Joe would sure feel right at home.

Dyson Carter

Praise indeed!

HARBORSIDE, MAINE

We are delighted with NATIONAL GUARDIAN coverage these days.

Scott Nearing

Big sleep

ZEONA, S.D.

The news that the bio-chemist, Dr. John Lyman, is working on "frozen sleep," which could be used for "overpopulation or unemployment . . . until times were better," opens up great possibilities. No reason at all why every large city can't begin right now making glorified locker plants, and every small town could have one, too. The building of these plants would "give men work" and hold up hibernation for a time.

Ezra Benson could contribute a number for cold storage. Why not the slogan: "Freeze them out, then freeze them up"?

Homer Ayres

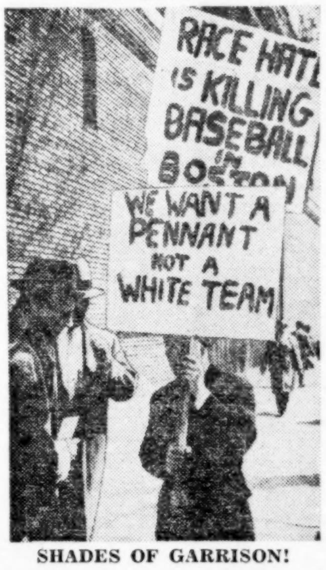
Spirit of the Elbe

CHICAGO, ILL.

I have been trying—so far without success—to raise the $770 I need for my round trip ticket to the U.S.S.R. so I can attend the reunion of Elbe veterans, April 28-May 9 in Moscow, and do what I can to keep the spirit of the Oath at the Elbe alive. It is a most difficult situation financially.

Any help you or the readers of the GUARDIAN can give will certainly be appreciated.

Joseph Polowsky, Secy.
American Veterans of the Elbe River Link-Up,
4126 Sheridan Road,
Chicago 13



SHADES OF GARRISON!

In Boston, where a statue of the great Abolitionist graces Commonwealth Avenue, a great furore has arisen over the lily-white Red Sox baseball team. Above, race-wise and baseball-wise Tufts student Allen Levinson protests the Red Sox's sending Negro Jerry (Pumpsie) Green back to the minors. Moments later he was roughed up by some young bigots who never read their history books.

Best little readers

CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, OHIO

The GUARDIAN is one of the best little papers I have ever had the fortune of reading.

Louis Rosenfield

Ending with proposition

SEATTLE, WASH.

Bring home our boys, our war materials, our battleships, etc. The ships could best be used to house, train and educate juvenile delinquents. That would be much better than storing surplus grain in the ships, there to rot, depriving hungry citizens of food they have a right to.

Edna V. Hansen

Yes, Your Honor

SULLIVAN, IND.

Before I take it up with the alert postal authorities who are screening my mail, (I told them I was 67 years old, an ex-Judge and felt qualified to choose my reading matter, whereupon they sent the "subversive" material from Canada), fire me your March 16 issue as I would much rather miss one week's meals than one week's copy of the GUARDIAN.

Norval K. Harris

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE SCENE IS SHIFTING swiftly from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The debate on the Atlantic Pact somewhat obscured the very real strategic landslide in Asia. China emerges as a strong military power, while Japan ceases to be a military power or even a strategic base of importance.

Secretary Acheson . . . has conceded the death of the Kuomintang regime and written off every possibility of resistance in South China. This time the military facts on the Asian continent were recognized unreservedly by our top policy maker.

The pro-Chiang policy of publisher Henry Luce, Congressman Judd and the former Ambassadors Bullitt and Hurley, once a powerful lobby, was based on military illusions and delusions. The birth of a new Chinese land power must be taken seriously.

A peaceful settlement for Asia must come. But settlement in Asia and settlement in Europe are not two separate compartments. The Atlantic Pact has produced a tension in the West, and this tension will gravely complicate the task of diplomacy in the Pacific.

—**Max Werner in the Guardian, April 25, 1949**

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REPORT TO READERS

Aftermath in Denver

THE SECOND DENVER Smith Act trial was concluded April 15 with the sentencing by Federal Judge William Lee Knous of six defendants convicted for a second time. The first convictions were thrown out by the Circuit Court of Appeals and new trials ordered after the 1957 Supreme Court reversed the California convictions.

In the second Denver trial only two of the seven original defendants were still members of the Communist Party. One was acquitted when the informer called against him refused to testify. The prison sentences for the other six were the same as at the first trial in 1954. Arthur Bary, now a Californian, five years; Anna Correa, formerly Bary's wife and still a Denver resident, and Patricia Blau, now living in Texas, four years each; Arthur Zepelin of Denver and Joseph Scherrer, now a New Yorker, three years each; Maia Scherrer, Joseph's wife, two and a half years (the Scherrers have two infant children, born since the last trial).

At the sentencing Maia Scherrer said: "In the five years since my arrest I have subjected my thoughts, my actions and my conscience to a most careful scrutiny. Never in my life have I taught, advocated or believed in the overthrow of our government by force and violence. My creed is the American creed. I believe in freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of the press. I believe in the freedom to criticism, to disagree. For my belief in socialism I have been on trial twice, and twice the evidence against me has been Books, and Books alone!" The other defendants spoke, too. Following are excerpts from the statement of youthful Anna Correa, best known as an indomitable fighter for the rights of Mexican-Americans in Colorado.

THERE WERE DAYS during this harassing trial when holding back tears was almost impossible. There were times when I thought my stomach would not take another day of it . . .

For seven weeks we sat in court listening silently to all the abuse heaped on us out of the mouths of the paid informers.

One of the informers claimed I said that "capitalism is pregnant with revolution and that force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new." Your honor, if as part of my defense I had chosen to put a doctor on the witness stand to determine whether or not this was so, it would have been no more ridiculous than the use of this quotation to convict me.

Or, to prove that I advocated the overthrow of the government, an informer quoted me as saying that we must liberate the Negro and Mexican people by revolution. I have never advocated or preached in any way that the solution to the problems of the Negro and Mexican people should be through revolution. I believe in striving to eliminate discrimination through legislation, through political action, through social understanding and through education and by improving economic standards. When anyone identifies himself with the oppressed they run the risk of being called Communists.

ALL THIS HAPPENED to us because we believe our country gives us the right to political freedom, the right to think what we want. I have chosen to believe in the Marxian philosophy.

I am convinced that the jury pronounced me guilty for being a Communist, and not for "teaching and advocating the overthrow of the government by force or violence." I was further convinced of this from what one of the jurors told me after the trial.

My mother and I were having dinner in the cafeteria at the Lakeside Shopping Center. Just as we set our trays down on the table, we saw one of the jurors sitting opposite us with her husband.

We exchanged hellos, and my mother said pleasantly to her: "It's a small world, isn't it?"

"Yes, it is," she replied.

As she walked out I said to her: "Now that it is all over, would you mind telling me why you found us guilty? Was it because we were Communists?"

She found it hard to reply. Her husband nodded his head slowly. Finally she said:

"Yes, it was the best we could do; we all felt the same way."

Then she clinched my shoulder and said: "I wish you lots of luck."

SOME DAY SOON I hope there will be no more political trials in our country. Then we can take tongue out of cheek and say to the world:

"America has political freedom. In America we do not put people in jail for what they think!"

* * *

The Denver convictions are now moving toward appeal for a second time. Much-needed contributions may be sent to Anna Correa, 2416 W. 36th Av., Denver 11, Colo. —**THE GUARDIAN**

'INTERNATIONAL SCANDAL'

UN is asked to act on human rights for Mexican-Americans

FEW PROBLEMS in the U.S. have resisted solution so stubbornly as the extraordinary exploitation of 5,000,000 Mexican-American industrial workers and farm laborers. Over the years the Tolan Committee of the House of Representatives, the LaFollette Committee of the Senate, a 1951 Presidential Commission and numerous private agencies have studied the plight of the Mexican-Americans.

But studies alone don't change conditions and the present Administration tends to ignore the injustices which have worsened since its predecessors revealed them. For this reason the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, in a petition presented April 17, has asked the Human Rights Commission of the UN Social and Economic Council to investigate the "serious deprivations of the human rights of the Mexican immigrant in the United States."

TREATY VIOLATED: When the Mexican-American war ended on Feb. 2, 1848, with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico ceded to the U.S. the vast territory which was to become California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. Treaty assurances that the 75,000 Mexicans in the territory at the time of signing would be secure in their property and civil rights were disregarded and the U.S. attitude of racial superiority has plagued Mexican-Americans ever since.

Work in the mines and huge factory-farms of the Southwest provide the chief employment for Mexican-Americans.

Among them none are more shabbily treated than the hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers who are brought

CHILD LABOR IN THE FIELDS
There are no laws to protect her

across the border each year to harvest cotton, berries, sugarbeet and other crops. They do the back-bending jobs which few other workers would undertake; most of them are from neighboring Mexican provinces and the ACPFB petition describes them as "among the poorest peasants in the Western Hemisphere."

TRICKS AND VIOLENCE: In the U.S these workers [braceros] are at the bottom of the heap among a miserable army of itinerant farm hands—native and foreign-born—who have become a permanent fixture in American agriculture. Whenever they have attempted even the slightest improvement of their conditions their efforts have been frustrated by subterfuge and violence by the big growers. And the growers enjoy the collusion of government on the municipal, county, state and Federal levels.

The first strike of agricultural workers in the Imperial Valley in California, in 1928, was broken by wholesale arrests and deportations of everyone connected with the union. When the LaFollette Committee investigated a 1933 strike of 7,000 Mexican-American workers the Deputy Sheriff of Kern County, Calif., testified: "We protect our farmers here in Kern County. They are the best people. They keep the county growing. But the Mexicans are trash, they have no standard of living. We herd them like pigs."

Many of the Mexican workers are held in virtual peonage. On March 15, 1948, Raul Gonzalez, employed by the Stokeley-Van Camp Co., was due a pay check of $18.84 to cover 48 hours of work. But the company had deducted $17.50 for board and an additional $2 for medical expenses. For his labor, Gonzalez "owed" his bosses 66c.

'PRISONERS OF WAR': Protests against such conditions usually result in prompt arrest and deportation to Mexico. A Catholic magazine, **Jubilee**, noted in its April, 1958, issue that "on this side of the border the status of the braceros resembles that of prisoners of war."

Because they are deprived of unemployment insurance benefits, minimum wage guarantees and other protections which cover American workers, the Mexican immigrants are used to depress wages in the fields.

Between Aug. 1 and 5, 1958, peach growers in Sutter County, Calif., were paying 15c to 18c a box for pickers. The U.S. Dept. of Labor certified a labor shortage and approved the importation of 933 Mexican nationals to work in the fields. On Aug. 7 some 700 Mexicans arrived but a day earlier the California Farm Placement Service certified a 12c base wage for the area.

In California's San Joaquin Valley over a ten-year period tomato pickers' wages have dropped 40% while the proportion of Mexican nationals has risen to 90% of all pickers.

NO RELIEF: Since 1942, when the U.S. and Mexico signed the first international agreement governing the treatment of Mexican nationals in U.S. agricultural fields, the Mexican government has vainly protested violations of the agreement. Even threats to close the border to further importation of braceros have had no effect in Washington. The growers know that, if necessary, they can overfulfill their "quota" of braceros through the continuing illegal border traffic.

In 1958 the U.S. Dept. of Labor set a 50c hourly wage as an acceptable pay level for Mexican nationals. But all over the Southwest, Mexican contract labor is cheated out of even these low wages. The Mexican government has set up a special office in Mexico City to handle claims of Mexicans summarily ejected from the U.S. without being given a chance to collect wages due them. Only a small minority of such cases are reported, but wage payments reclaimed by the Mexican government run well over $620,000 annually.

NATIONAL DISGACE: It is on behalf of the braceros, other Mexican immigrants and Mexican-American citizens in the U.S. that the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has prepared its petition to the UN. Short of the intervention requested, the immediate future of foreign-born and native agricultural workers in the U.S. appears bleak.

FARM WORKERS PICKET AN EL CENTRO, CALIF., EMPLOYMENT OFFICE
A sheriff said: "Mexicans are trash . . . We herd them like pigs."

Three states—New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey—have passed some legislation for their protection, but enforcement is weak. Official migrant labor committees now exist in 20 states but their function is largely advisory. The AFL-CIO has recently made motions as if to back a major organizing drive among agricultural workers but this has been an empty ritual in the house of labor for decades.

It still remains that treatment of the braceros is both a national disgrace and an international scandal.

THE ORDEAL OF JUNIUS SCALES

Smith Act test 'membership' case before Supreme Court second time

HOW FAR the Smith Act can still be used against a political minority will be the key issue when the Supreme Court for a second time hears arguments on April 27 in the case of Junius Scales, former North Carolina Communist Party chairman.

The hearing brings to a climax a proceeding that began more than four years ago with Scales' arrest under the section of the law forbidding what has been called "knowing membership" in any organization which advocates forcible overthrow of the government. Scales was convicted and sentenced to six years at a first trial in Greensboro, N.C., in 1955.

The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the conviction, but the Supreme Court set it aside in October, 1957, in a ruling that avoided the question of the constitutionality of the law. Scales was granted a new trial because he had been denied access to FBI records of government informers who testified against him in court.

At a second trial in February, 1958, Scales was convicted again on an amended complaint which deleted some of the unsupported charges of the first trial. He was again sentenced to six years and again appealed.

TEST CASE: Scales is no longer a CP member, but his case is regarded by government and defense alike as the main test case involving the Smith Act membership section. Other membership cases awaiting the outcome of the Scales case are those of Claude Lightfoot, Chicago; John Noto, Buffalo; Max Weiss, Chicago; John Hellman, Butte, Mont., and Dr. Albert Blumberg of New York who was indicted in Philadelphia. Last year a Federal Court, on government motion, dismissed a membership case against Emanuel Blum of Indiana.

In addition to these defendants, the 11 CP leaders who were convicted in the first Smith Act "conspiracy" trial in 1951 have been indicted under the membership clause, but no steps have been taken to bring them to trial.

Conducting Scales' defense is one of the nation's leading civil liberties attorneys, Telford Taylor, brigadier general and chief Allied prosecutor of Nazi war criminals at the Nuremberg trials. Scales, now living in New York, earns $65 a week as an unskilled worker.

Legal costs—moderate counsel fees and the considerable expense of printing briefs and other papers—are beyond his reach. Contributions to help carry the case to a successful conclusion will be welcomed by the defendant's wife, Mrs. Gladys Scales, 90 LaSalle St., New York 27, N.Y.

JUNIUS SCALES (l.) WITH COP
It's been a long four years

Tom Mboya: 'We have the right to be free now'

AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE UN, sitting in New York's Carnegie Hall packed with an audience celebrating Africa Freedom Day April 15, must have felt rather uncomfortable when they heard an African leader from Kenya say:

"We Africans are often surprised, puzzled, eventually frustrated and disillusioned when we see the U.S. acquiesce in the French Army's use of American arms, allegedly for NATO, against Algerians; or abstain from voting on the Algerian question in the UN; or lead the defense of the Portuguese refusal to make reports on her colonies in Africa; or avoid condemning government brutality in Nyasaland . . ."

TOM MBOYA
He speaks gently, but . . .

The words were spoken gently by 28-year-old Tom Mboya, son of illiterate parents. Through back-breaking work on a white settler estate and by existing on a starvation diet, they scraped up enough to pay his tuition fees for a primary and secondary education. Mboya later took a correspondence course and squeezed in a year's study at Oxford's Ruskin College in 1956.

Now general secretary of the Kenya Fedn. of Labor, he was the first African elected to the Kenya legislature in 1957. Last December, he was elected chairman of the All-African People's Conference in Ghana. He has traveled widely in Asia and Africa and is now visiting the U.S. for the second time to tell of Africa's plight and raise money for an African Freedom Fund.

WHEN HE IS ASKED certain questions at his frequent press conferences and radio-TV appearances, a puzzled look comes into his eyes, as though he were wondering whether the embers of America's revolutionary tradition have turned to ashes in the hearts of his questioners. Here are some of these questions: "Are Africans ready for freedom? . . . Have you a target date for independence? . . . Will Africans always be nonviolent in their freedom struggle? . . . What about the rights of the white settlers when you are free? . . How can you reconcile your advocacy of democracy with the tendency toward one-party rule as evidenced in Guinea?"

His answers are frank and devastatingly simple. He says: "There's no target date. We want freedom now. All peoples everywhere have the right to be free now." He asks why people have to qualify for freedom according to rules set by the conquerors, why they cannot claim it as their "unalienable" right, as our own Declaration of Independence proclaims.

Violence, he patiently points out, is used first by the colonial oppressors to crush the nonviolent struggle for freedom. He warns that Africans are not to be blamed if they retaliate violently when the violence perpetrated on them becomes intolerable. He muses aloud why the burden of virtue is always placed on the shoulders of the oppressed and never on the oppressor.

Himself a victim of racial prejudice, he says without bitterness that Africans in Kenya, outnumbering white settlers 600 to 1, have proposed special transitional safeguards—but not special privileges—for the whites when Kenya is free and they follow the democratic procedure of "one man, one vote."

DEMOCRACY, Mboya says with a smile, does not necessarily depend on the existence of more than one political party. To him, "democracy means protecting the rights and freedom of the individual while offering him the fullest opportunity for growth. It does not mean transplanting the differing institutional forms of democracy prevailing in the U.S., Britain and France." Africans, he insists, will develop their own democratic forms, based on their own traditions, needs and experience.

Asked what African leaders mean by "the emergence of an African personality," he says he finds it difficult to define in a few words. Perhaps it means the integrated development of the economic, political, cultural and social life of the Africans. He illustrates by saying:

"When someone says 'I am an American', I know what he means, the values he represents. But if I say 'I am an African', no one seems to know what I mean. They ask, am I a South African, French African, etc. This must change. The world must understand that Africa can no longer be a projection of Portugal, Belgium, France. Britain. Africa, in all its diversity, must nevertheless be a projection of Africans."

The definition, after all, was not difficult.

—**Kumar Goshal**

WHICH WAY FOR THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC?—II

Egypt tends toward compromise with West

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent
(Second of two articles)

CAIRO

EGYPTIAN INDUSTRY in 1958 experienced the most profitable year in its history. Earnings of the big monopoly corporations were up two to six times over 1952.

Prices soared too, especially after the Suez invasion: Inflation was inherent in the £125 million increase in Treasury bills effected since 1952 to finance the industrialization and arms program, and the expenses resulting from Suez.

Unremitting efforts by the Western powers to reduce the value of the pound abroad also helped contribute to the inflationary spiral; rising prices of imports pushed up the cost of oil, technical equipment, transport, railway traffic, all of which affect the cost of production and the standard of living.

There have been no commensurate increases in wages and incomes for workers and peasants, and the absence of democratic institutions has put on these people a heavy and disproportionate share of the burden.

Wages of peasants and workers have increased only slightly in the last six years and in some sectors may actually have fallen. Before the Revolution, the average industrial wage was £2 for a 51-hour week (the pound is $2.80) or 33 piastres, for a 9-hour day (about $1). Government economists who cite this figure carefully avoid any comparable figure for now. But in Cairo only skilled workers today get such a "good" wage. (Elsewhere they may get up to 65 piastres a day). Unskilled workers get eight to 20 piastres for a 9- to 12-hour day.

THE PEASANTS' LOT: Today the worker must pay much more for food and other essential items. A ban on strikes and independent union organization also has meant speedup and fines—often for unavoidable defects in production.

Peasants have fared little better. Some 250,000 peasant families (1,200,000 people) have directly benefited from the land reform. Limitation of land rent, where enforced, has increased peasant income at the expense of landowners. But the land reform's minimum wage provisions (18 piastres a day for men) have never been enforced and landless rural labor, more than half the 14,000,000 who live on the land, has got nothing.

THE TAX SYSTEM: The absence of democratic controls becomes strikingly clear in the tax system. Before the Revolution Egypt's tax system was one of the world's worst. Direct taxes contributed only 20.1% of total revenue. And since the Revolution indirect taxation has increased even more. Rates of profit for commerce and industry have gone up and corporate profits have made spectacular gains. But Egypt's corporate taxes remain among the world's lowest. All this while the government gets funds for the ordinary budget by profiteering on certain popular consumption items on a scale never before known.

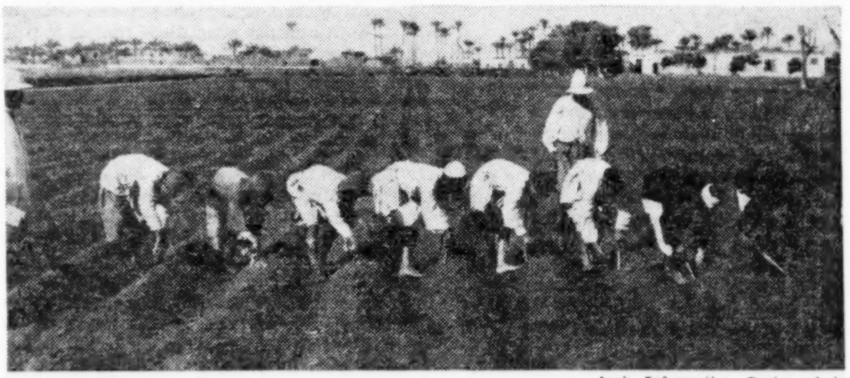
While the poor now pay a higher share of the revenue, they get less in the way of services. Appropriations for the high cost of living bonus have been cut and government subsidies to hold down prices on important consumer commodities have been reduced or withdrawn—until this year when popular discontent forced some increases.

THE CONSEQUENCES: The 1958 budget cut the already meager appropriations for the Ministries of Health and Social Affairs, and for the Combined Units (rural health, welfare and educational projects). The £18 million for these three agencies in 1957 was only £1 million more than was spent by the government that year on officials going abroad.

The result of all this is that Egyptian capitalism has failed to create the expanding internal market necessary to industrial expansion—and its present policies are not designed to do so. This fact has two major consequences:

● Egyptian capitalism must look elsewhere for its markets—most obviously to other Arab countries, all economically undeveloped in comparison with Egypt. Egyptian capitalists have not been slow to exploit the Arab national movement. After union with Syria, for example, leading Egyptian banks and insurance companies hurried to set up shop in the "northern region"; Egyptian industrialists got customs barriers removed, leaving Syrian industry (much weaker) at their mercy. Egyptian entrepreneurs bid successfully for lucrative contracts under Syria's development program.

● Relationships between Egyptian and Western capitalists have undergone a subtle change.



Arab Information Center photo
EGYPTIAN FELLAHIN STILL USE THEIR BACKS TO PLANT COTTON

BACKGROUND STORY: In its first phase, 1952-55, the Revolutionary government based its industrialization program on the premise that industrialization could be achieved only by large scale foreign investment. Foreign capital, however, did not respond.

The September, 1955, Czech arms deal marked the adoption of neutralism—that is, independence of imperialism—a policy forced by the West's refusal to buy Egypt's cotton and to sell Egypt arms, and by its encouragement to Israel.

The period from 1955 to the Iraq Revolution was marked by Nasser's uncompromising stand against imperialism, Egypt's reliance on socialist help, and after Suez and Egyptianization, the attainment by Egyptian capitalism of a large measure of security and economic freedom vis-a-vis imperialism.

UNEASY CAPITALISTS: Since then, Egyptian capitalists have become increasingly uneasy over the possible implications of Soviet aid. The great popular rallying at the time of Suez, Nasser's arming of the people, the steps then taken towards democratization—all contributed to this uneasiness. For they feared development of a genuine national front—a threat to their profits and privileges.

Now the Iraq Revolution poses the potent threat of democracy to Egyptian monopoly's control of the Arab countries.

This threat, conveniently labeled "communist," has drawn Egyptian capitalists closer to their Western counterparts politically. Economically it has revived the old goal of "partnership" with private Western capital, supposedly on better terms than before.

CLASH WITH IRAQ: This was explicit at the recent Arab League Economic Conference when Egypt proposed to alter the character of the long-projected Arab Bank for Economic Development. This had originally been conceived to develop indigenous Arab capital to provide Arab financing for Arab development. Egypt now insisted that the bank must "encourage foreign private capital."

Egypt turned a deaf ear to Iraqi criticism that this (1) would violate the neutralist policy since socialist countries have no private capital and thus are excluded; (2) would make the bank a "national front" for imperialist penetration. Foreign capital is not needed: Arab oil revenue alone, properly used, could suffice.

Egypt's "partnership" goal was further underlined by Cairo's welcome to the Middle East Industrial Development Projects Corp., an organization designed to promote private foreign investment and "bring together Western and Oriental capital." Iraq did not attend this meeting; it had meanwhile rejected as interference with Iraq independence a U.S. proposal on American investments.

CAN IT BE DONE? The changing relationships between Egyptian and Western capitalists do not point to a severance of economic relations with socialist countries, so long as these remain profitable; nor to rejection of neutrality, although its content is altering somewhat. They point rather to a compromise of sorts with imperialism, a compromise dictated by a certain identity of interests in the face of the class struggle intensifying throughout the Arab world since Iraq.

But contradictions within the imperialist camp—and within the UAR and the Arab world—suggest that now, as in the past, any stable compromise will be difficult to achieve.

BEHIND THE NEWS FROM LA PAZ

Bolivia's politics are explosive

A revolt broke out on April 19 in La Paz, capital of Bolivia, which, the government reported, was quickly put down. The instigation of the revolt was not clear at GUARDIAN press time, but indications were that it was sparked by the right-wing Socialist Falange Party. The incident took on significance because it followed disturbances in the three main tin-mining centers of Bolivia at a time when the country was under severe economic stress. From La Paz last week came a dispatch by Harvey and Jessie Lloyd O'Connor which gives a picture of the situation in Bolivia against which the disturbances may be evaluated. Mr. O'Connor is the author of The Empire of Oil *and other works. The dispatch follows.*

By Harvey and Jessie Lloyd O'Connor
Special to the Guardian

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA

UP ON THE ALTIPLANO OF BOLIVIA, 13,000 feet high, you see women and children gathering dry grass in bundles. This, with dried llama dung, is their fuel for cooking, for not a tree grows on the bleak, sodden, cold altiplano.

The grass and dung are taken "home" to the little adobe hut of red mud, windowless, with only a low entrance, doorless, to cook the evening meal of corn. The smoke fills the room and filters out through the thatch roof, for there is no chimney. Nor is there furniture; only some cooking utensils and some blankets on the dirt floor, in which the family will wrap themselves against the cold of night, huddled under their ponchos. The coca leaf (cocaine) deadens hunger, cold and pain among them.

These, perhaps the most wretched people of the hemisphere, existed under pure feudalism until 1952. Yet they arose then and broke those chains; today, although mostly illiterate, they are free to vote and to organize; to guarantee their freedom they have guns. This is the one great fact about Bolivia, contradicted by no one, in a land in which every other "fact" finds its contradiction.

POLITICAL LABORATORY: Of the landlords, some were killed and the others chased out—today they cluster in Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires clamoring for their lost freedom—to exploit the Indians. The tin barons were dispossessed, but they did not have to flee because they already lived in Paris and on the Riviera. So today, after 400 years of slavery under the Spaniards and the creole oligarchy, the Indians have grimly organized themselves into armed bands under the National Revolutionary Movement—MNR—which now holds power.

Bolivia today is the strangest political laboratory in the world, outside Yugoslavia. The MNR government in La Paz shares power with the Central Labor Union in a curious experiment in syndicalism. Each holds veto power over the other. But while the La Paz government is headed by President Hernan Siles Zauzo, the Central Labor Union and the miners are headed, in part, by Juan Lechin, with distrust and rivalry rampant between the two.

The boliviano has sunk to depths unknown since the German monetary crisis of 1922; the current quotation is 12,000 to the dollar. The miners, some totally unemployed, the rest under-employed because of the crisis in the world tin market, are kept from starving by the government's food commissaries, selling below cost.

MINERS AND PEASANTS: But this largesse has angered the Intl. Monetary Fund which refuses further credits to La Paz unless the government raises prices to cover costs. The government felt obliged to cave in, whereupon the miners struck. President Siles called them "communists."

Then occurred an incident typical in Bolivia's chaotic politics. A thousand armed peasants loyal to the government commandeered a train and descended on Oruro, the mining center, ready for the spark which might set off armed conflict with the miners. Fortunately the government settled the strike by postponing the showdown for two months. After a few days, the peasants, who had been camping in the municipal stadium and dancing the while with local townspeople, departed peacefully for home.

But the government totters from crisis to crisis, and every day brings demands from this and that union for higher pay, to check the dizzying descent of their already abysmal living standards. Likewise the mestizo townspeople of La Paz, Sucre, Oruro, Cochabamba are miserable with their plummeting salaries and scarce opportunity for professional employment; they fear the Indians of the countryside but can think of no way to disarm them and get the country "stabilized."

United Nations photo
BOLIVIAN TIN MINERS
Can they be maneuvered . . .

PROFESSIONALS PROTEST: The Natl. Confederation of Professionals has just published a letter to the government protesting "recent attacks on the life, peace and liberty" of six agronomists, three engineers and a lawyer, as well as past violations by private bands "of the most elemental human rights."

In the cities, many of the middle class who once supported MNR complain that their phones and mail are checked, and many are exiled. Until 1957 there were concentration camps with up to 5,000 inmates, they say. But opposition newspapers are eloquent in their insults to the government and the concentration camps are no more.

With all this, there are thousands of bewildered Americans in Bolivia, either trying to make a fast buck in private enterprise or trying to help the country through public enterprises such as Point 4, and they can agree on only one thing—both President Siles and Juan Lechin, the miners' leader, are "communists." But what kind of communists?

Well, maybe not Russian communists, but at any rate "marxists" of some kind or other. On this point the typical American, not too sure of fine ideological distinction, breaks down and splutters that in any event they're all "reds." But why does the State Dept. dump some $120,000,000 into the lap of a "communist" government? To that there is no reply. Confusion is confounded and compounded.

TIN AND OIL: President Siles, who was elected two years ago to succeed Victor Paz Estenssoro, leader of the 1952 MNR revolution, lends little clarity to the confusion. Siles condemns Russia for "breaking" tin prices by dumping the metal on the world market, thus driving Bolivia into bankruptcy. He is breaking the back of the one promising advance the country had made in recent years, that of the Bolivian state oil company, by handing over its most promising petroleum reserves to North American oil companies—a strange reward for the state oil company's achievement in supplying the nation's entire consumption after only four years of operation.

President Siles boasts that his country is open to foreign investment in a favorable climate. His adroit New York advertising agency, in a four-page ad in the N.Y. **Times** recently, devoted one page to the welcome he gave Vice President Nixon in his ill-fated mission to Latin America.

And yet most Americans in La Paz agree President Siles is a "red" and that the State Dept., for once, has made a frightful mistake. Their only explanation of State Dept. policy is that the alternative in Bolivia to President Siles' "communism" is syndicalist anarchy.

OTHER CURRENTS: All speculation about Bolivia's future stumbles over the stubborn fact that the peasants and miners are armed. The old army was abolished after the revolution and the national police force of 6,000 is uncertain in its loyalty. There is danger that the peasants and miners can be maneuvered into civil war as the recent strike incidents showed.

Yet there are other currents within the labor movement not fully in agreement with either President Siles or Juan Lechin. The Oil Workers Union favors a new petroleum code that would eventually undo most of the concessions granted by the government and strengthen the national oil company. Within MNR there is a movement to heal old controversies in a movement of national union.

United Nations photo
BOLIVIAN PEASANT
. . . into a civil war?

The basic problem revolves about the peasants. A sharp critic of the government who thinks the Indians are as wretched economically as before, admits they are better off socially. "They used to bow and scrape before a city lawyer—now they look him in the eye and tell him what their rights are."

The peasants themselves have built over 600 schools, and roads have been pushed through the mountains. But the bankrupt government is unable to foster co-operatives or to introduce machinery or modern farming methods. Peasants still use the foot-plow to turn the soil as they did under the Incas (a longish, quite narrow kind of spade); there aren't many cattle on the altiplano for hauling even a primitive plow.

THE WHITE MAN: Some Americans have suggested that Bolivia be abolished—why indeed should human beings be forced to exist on the desolate, tree-less, air-thin altiplano which offers little hope of supporting people under the best of systems?

But this very altiplano was the cradle of one of the outstanding civilizations of the Americas—that of the Incas. Before the Spaniards came, the Indians were doing very well indeed in a highly organized system in which everyone had plenty to eat and no one worked in the mines more than a few weeks a year.

Agriculture and irrigation were brought to remarkable levels, primitive arts of startling beauty developed, and great towns flourished, with an amazing network of roads more than 3,000 miles long—many still used—from central Chile to the Colombian border. The mountaintop fortress of Macchu Pichu, guardian of the ancient capital city of Cuzco, today is one of the wonders of the continent, although it lay hidden and forgotten for 400 years.

A thoughtful Point 4 American, considering Inca history, observed that perhaps the only thing wrong with Bolivia is the white man—if he would get out perhaps the Indians could recreate their civilization.

Coming Next Week

THE MAY 4 ISSUE OF THE GUARDIAN will be a special **Spring Book Issue,** with extra pages devoted to reviews, comment and articles by well-known authors and critics, including Charles Madison, Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Angus Cameron, Yuri Suhl, Dr. Herbert Aptheker and others. It is the opening gun in an expanded GUARDIAN program (1) to bring more good books to more good people, and (2) to widen readership.

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The Youth March in Washington

(Continued from Page 1)

lege, neighboring schools in Ohio, sent a joint delegation of 45 in seven cars. They brought 720 petition-signatures collected on both campuses. From the Frederick Douglass public housing project in Harlem a bus brought almost 50 youngsters, about evenly divided among white, Negro and Puerto Rican tenants, chaperoned by their parents.

A Negro woman member of the New Jersey state legislature accompanied a busload of youth from East Orange. Negro and Puerto Rican workers of Local 76B, United Furniture Workers, wore their union caps; some carried babes in arms. A church announced on a placard: "Macedonia is for Integration" and Local 89 of the Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Assistants Union declared: "We Won't Live with Jimcrow."

FOUR SPOKESMEN: The slogans caught the spirit of the gathering. Home-made or expertly lettered, they spelled out the demands which the young people chanted as they formed their ranks: "Don't Procrastinate — Integrate," "Human Rights Before States' Rights," "NAACP Is Saving America's Soul," "Little Rock Is Not America," and "Jimcrow Repent!"

While the delegations gathered on the mall, four of their spokesmen went off to the White House to present to the President their recommendations for action. They were:

- Reginald Herbold Green, 23, of Walla Walla, Wash. A summa cum laude graduate of Walla Walla College, with an AM degree from Harvard Graduate School, Green is now a vice-president of of the U.S. Natl. Student Assn.
- Josephine Boyd, 18, of Greensboro, N.C. The only Negro in last year's senior class of 585, Miss Boyd became the first Negro to receive a diploma from an integrated high school in North Carolina. She is now a scholarship student at Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
- Sally Phillips, 17, Hartshorne, Okla. A senior at the Hartshorne High School, Miss Phillips has recently been selected the first Negro valedictorian in the school's history.
- Harlon Eric Joye, 26, of Orangeburg, S.C. Now a resident of New York City, Joye is a graduate student of the New School for Social Research and representative to the Young Adult Council from the North American Student Cooperative League.

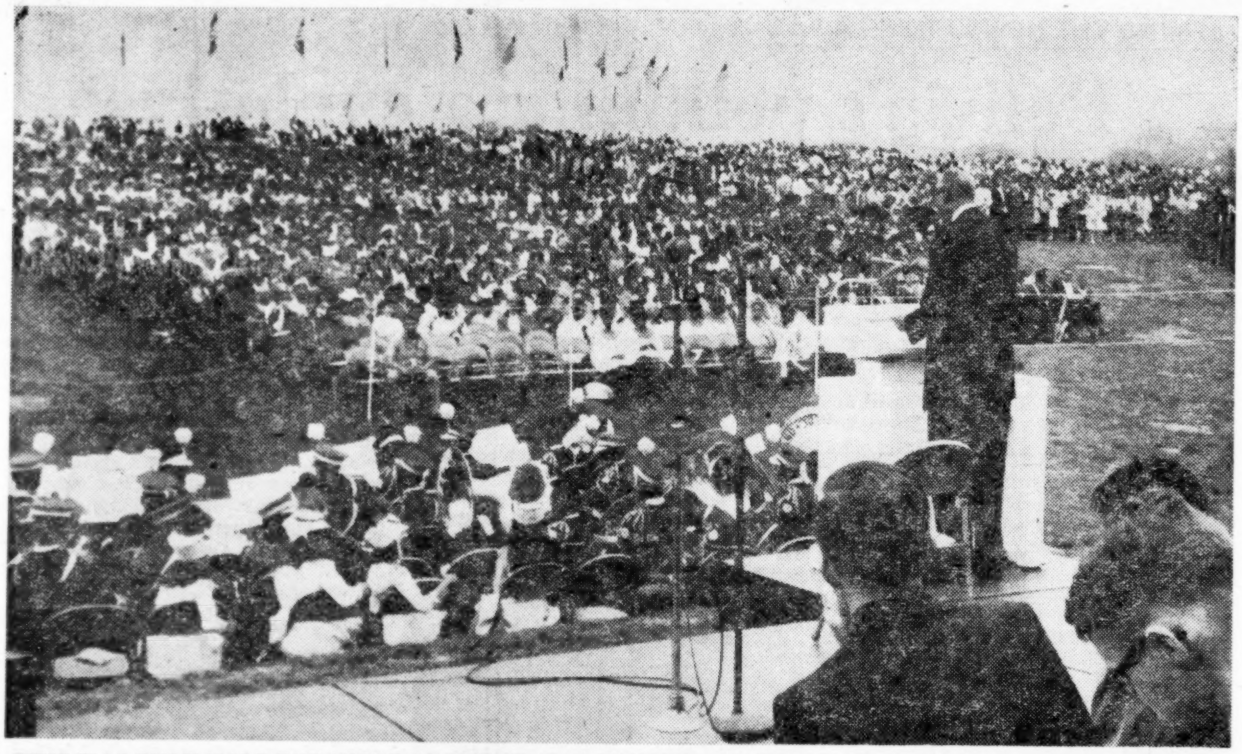
PRESIDENT ABSENT: Last October, when the first youth march sent a delegation to the White House they were turned back at the gate. The President was then golfing at the Burning Tree golf course in nearby Maryland. This year's delegation was met at the gate and escorted to the White House by E. Frederick Morrow, an administrative assistant. But again the President was not to be seen. He was again, or still, playing golf—this time on his favorite links at Augusta, Ga.

The President had deputized an assistant, Gerald D. Morgan, to receive the statement of the youth and they reported that Mr. Morgan was pleasant. He did not comment on their specific recommendation, they declared, but did ask a few questions. Then he read a prepared statement, conveying the President's best wishes, his hatred of injustice, his pride in "the progress that has been made during his Administration," and his determination "never to be satisfied until the last vestige of discrimination has disappeared."

The interview was over in 16 minutes. While the delegation came away without a single specific commitment, it was clear they felt the limited access they had had to the White House was a step in the right direction. Later, at the mass meeting, the delegates roared their approval as Bayard Rustin, coordinator of the march, declared: "Next time if we come back with 50,000, Ike will be in Washington; and when we come with 100,000, Congress will sit in special session."

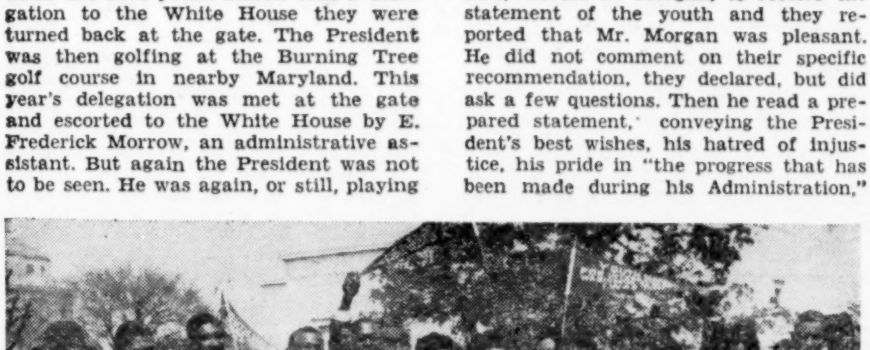
WHAT THEY ASKED: The requests of the young people were modest enough. They asked the President to commit explicitly the "full resources of the Federal Government" to the achievement of "effective and speedy integration of the schools." They urged White House support of a "truly effective civil rights bill" in this session of Congress.

They requested the President to intervene in the case of Asbury Howard Jr., the Negro youth of Bessemer, Ala., who has been sentenced to a year on a chain

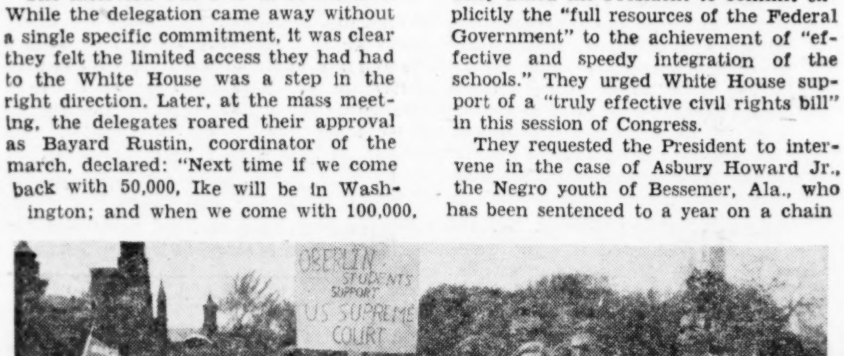


THIS WAS ONLY HALF THE SCENE AT THE SYLVAN THEATER IN FRONT OF THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT

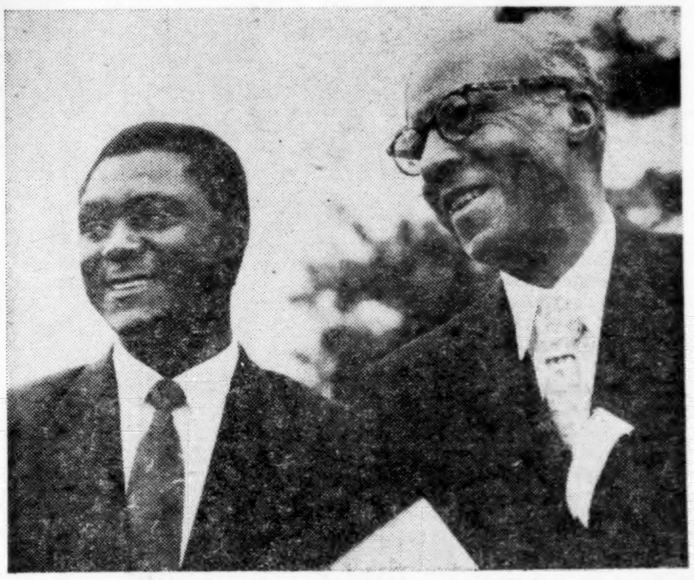
PETITIONS APLENTY: Above, a table where they were gathered; right, a group leaves White House. Ike was not in.



FROM DURHAM, N.C.: A busload of 45, organized by the NAACP and gathered from the community, from North Carolina College and the high schools.



FROM OBERLIN COLLEGE: Thirty-eight students made the 370-mile trip from Ohio, bringing with them the signatures of 650 of their classmates.



WELCOME: Above, Tom Mboya (l.), visiting from Kenya, with A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and chairman of the March. Right, David Laibman of Cleveland Heights High tickles the mood of a Cleveland group as they await the signal to march.

gang for coming to the defense of his father when the latter was attacked by a mob in the City Hall. They recommended that the President call a White House conference of youth and student leaders to discuss ways in which youth may help the nation integrate its schools.

They made it plain that they reflected the views, not only of themselves and the 26,000 who were to gather at the Washington Monument, but of representative youth and student organizations in the U.S. and outside the country as well. They cited the following recent demonstrations of youth sentiment: (1) in August, 1957, the 10th Congres of the Natl. Student Assn., representing over 1,000,000 students, affirmed that "segregation in education by race is incompatible with human equality", similar declarations were adopted last year by the Natl. Student Conference of the YMCA and YWCA, the Natl. Fedn. of Catholic College Students, and delegates from 50 Southern campuses who attended the 11th Natl. Student Congress.

ADULTS SPEAK: The youth also called the President's attention to condemnation of racial segregation by delegates from 75 national unions of students meeting in Lima, Peru, this spring and by delegates at the World Assembly of Youth in New Delhi last summer.

As the delegation left the White House to report back to their fellows, an elderly Negro woman stopped to ask what was going on. When told the young people had come to Washington to help focus attention on the desegregation problem, she said: "That's right, you have to fight them for everything you want."

At the mass meeting, with one adult speaker following another, and with youth playing a distinctly secondary role, the fighting spirit was intermittent at best.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and an AFL-CIO vice-president, welcomed the youth on behalf of the national Youth March committee of which he is chairman. Preparations for the march had greatly benefited from the support of the labor movement. Randolph's speech also revealed a determination to saddle the youth's initiative with what many consider the peculiar weakness of U.S. trade unions: their almost blind attachment to the Adminstration's Cold War foreign policy.

COLD WAR NOTE: He reiterated the State Dept. version of events in Hungary and Tibet and called on the U.S. "to give Negroes their civil rights today" as "one of the best ways to halt the progress of communism in Africa and Asia." While youth applauded his demand for equality without delay, they sat in silence and seeming bewilderment as he inveighed against "the fascist and communist enemies of democracy at home and abroad."

Only some second thoughts by Randolph or his advisers prevented him from committing the youth, without their consent, to "unqualified support of President Eisenhower upon the eve of a conference between communist Russia and the Western democracies to discuss the problem of peace and war, in relation to the Berlin crisis." This passage was included in the advance text of Randolph's speech, but was yanked from the press kits a few hours before delivery.

Though other speakers avoided Randolph's gimmick of tying the Negro's demand for equality to the Dulles foreign policy line, all appeared to speak with a discreetness which suited their age but failed to stir the youth to excitement.

A DILEMMA: Harry Belafonte caused the greatest commotion when he was introduced. Teen-age idols jumped from their seats, shouted, and crowded to the rope barriers to take pictures. Belafonte responded by presenting them with a dilemma. He had been called upon by the State Dept., he said, to do a bit of good-will touring. This year he would be going to Moscow at the time of the World Trade Fair and the Russians had invited him to tour their country. He felt he could handle himself artistically, could "sing his way into their hearts," but that it would be difficult to "sing out of their hearts questions about Little Rock, lack of integration in the schools and lack of voting rights for Negroes in the South."

Tom Mboya, the youthful trade union and political leader from Kenya, East Africa, received an enthusiastic greeting. He said the demonstration reminded him of many such occasions in his country and reminded the youth that "millions throughout the world are here with you in spirit." The fight in Kenya for freedom and in the U.S. for equality, he said, was for "nothing less and nothing more than the eradication of poverty, disease and ignorance."

CITATIONS: Rev. King emphasized the nation's stake in the battle for equal rights in the South. He congratulated the youth for discovering what he called the central fact of American life—"that the extension of democracy for all Americans depends upon complete integration of Negro Americans."

NAACP secretary Roy Wilkins pointed out that resistance to integration is "the plan of adults, not of young people." Many of the leaders of the resistance, he said, have lived their lives, "or are so far along that they cannot, or will not, change. Their world is behind them. They don't understand India any more than Kipling did. They don't know—and don't care—about the difference betwen Viet-Nam and Ghana, or between Ecuador and Ethiopia. What to them is Kenya and where is Leopoldville?" Youth, however, must know, he said, for "the world's mechanical and scientific progress has made more necessary than ever an adequate education in human relations."

Citations for outstanding work for integration were presented to Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, member of the N. Y. City Board of Education; Mrs. Daisy Bates, Little Rock NAACP leader; Jackie Robinson, Belafonte; Wilkins for the NAACP, and Rabbi Emmet K. Frank of Arlington, Va.

Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) received the petitions and promised to transmit them to Congress and have their message printed in the Congressional Record. He reminded the youth that the Senate has long been regarded the graveyard of civil rights legislation but added that if things work out that way in the current Congress it will also become the graveyard of several Presidential aspirants.

THE ACHING VOID: The fact that Diggs was the only Congressman to appear before 26,000 young citizens who had come from all parts of the country on one of the most important domestic issues was only one indication of the treatment received by this mammoth demonstration for civil rights. It was as if word had gone out from somewhere: play it down.

The day after the March the Washington **Post** devoted nine inches of space to a story dealing almost exclusively with the visit to the White House. The Sunday N.Y. **Times** found 15 inches on page 64 for a story headlined: "Eisenhower Cites Integration Goal." The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** must have regarded the youth march as beneath its notice: it carried not a line.

But with or without fair press coverage, the youth seemed in no mood to be easily discouraged. Before leaving they shouted their assent to a pledge to work for integration in their communities and to stand ready to return to Washington on call to urge government action. As they made their way to their buses they still faced what one of their leaders, Reginald Green, had called a "vast and aching void between the ideals of our nation and the reality." He had reminded them that only "when enough decide that they cannot live with this void, then the reality will become the ideal."

FROM DETROIT: Bearing a proud banner from the auto city, a delegation that swelled the ranks of a thoroughly proud demonstration.

The Carolina Times

Merely an exchange of chains

A NEW BIOGRAPHY

Gandhi: Apostle of nonviolence

IT IS A REMARKABLE paradox that in the world's most powerful country more and more citizens are advocating the principle of nonviolence.

Many Americans are peacefully demonstrating against nuclear weapons tests. Negroes in the South are using nonviolent methods against segregation laws and for their right to full equality as citizens. Rev. Martin Luther King recently went on a "pilgrimage" to India where nonviolence was practiced on a massive scale in the struggle for freedom from colonial bondage.

It would seem that a cogent biography of the late Indian leader Gandhi, the apostle of the doctrine of nonviolence, would have a special relevance to many Americans. The Indian historian B. R. Nanda has supplied such a biography in his book, **Mahatma Gandhi***.

THERE HAVE BEEN several biographies of Gandhi by Western writers, but they have told more about the authors than about the man whom the Indians called Mahatma (Great Soul)—to the distress of the Mahatma himself. Nanda's book does not pretend to be either exhaustive or thoroughly illuminating. Another Indian writer, Tendulkar, has already published eight volumes of what promises to be the most exhaustive biography of Gandhi. A really illuminating biography may have to wait until passionate partisanship cools in India.

Nanda, however, has succeeded in sketching the evolution of Gandhi's political, social, economic, ethical and religious concepts and in relating Gandhi's life to his rapidly changing environment, to the struggle for India's independence. As one who in his formative years was strongly influenced by the Indian leader, the author has nevertheless been remarkably objective in his interpretations of many of Gandhi's more controversial ideas.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI was born on Oct. 2, 1869, and died at the hands of an assassin on Jan. 30, 1948. Of all the leaders of colonial freedom, his was the most complex personality. He was capable of the loftiest idealism and the most incredible contradictions. Pathologically shy, tongue-tied and passive as a schoolboy, he became in his forties eloquent, out-going, a superb organizer, a brilliant and even witty conversationalist and writer.

For example, he exposed the sham of the English parliamentary government's rule over India by calling the Mother of Parliaments "a sterile woman." He persuaded his colleagues in the Indian National Congress party to spin a certain amount of yarn on a hand spinning-wheel as a symbol of promoting Indian-made goods by calling the yarn the "thread of destiny." He said he was aware of the risks he ran in trying to convert the British from enemies into friends by using mass nonviolent methods; but he added:

"Conversion of a nation that has consciously or unconsciously preyed upon another far more numerous, far more ancient and no less cultured than itself, is worth any amount of risk."

HIS TURN to celibacy in the prime of life, Nanda notes, "grew out of the precocious sex life into which he was whirled by his child marriage, and was in the nature of a reaction against this precocity." But to a degree it warped his views on sex life and birth control. He could on occasion be guilty of the supreme arrogance of the supremely humble.

Gandhi evolved his doctrine of nonviolence during his 20-year struggle for the right of Indians in South Africa. His great contribution to India's liberation movement was to make the Indian masses conscious of their rights and of the power of the meek when they are united. His total renunciation of earthly possessions in an effort to identify himself with "the least, lowliest and lost" endeared him to the masses: at one time in South Africa his income was nearly $25,000 a year; as leader of the Indian people he used a stone instead of soap for his bath, shaved with a crude country razor, ate meager food with a wooden spoon from a prisoner's bowl.

THE MAHATMA'S economic views were feudal, which often exasperated his colleagues. But his hold on the masses was so strong that neither conservative nor radical political parties could do without his support. And, as Nanda notes, a militant trade union movement and nationally conscious Indian soldiers in the British Army during World War II supplemented Gandhi's nonviolent methods to bring freedom to India.

With a fine sense of drama, Nanda has written an extremely readable book, thoughtfully adding a needed glossary of Indian terms, an adequate bibliography and an index.

MAHATMA GANDHI
"The least, lowliest and lost"

Nonviolence may be a very distant ideal, he says at the end of the book. Then he adds: "Yet, in the thermonuclear age, if civilization is not to disintegrate into a mass of torn flesh and molten metal, the premises of Gandhi have an immediate relevance."

—**Kumar Goshal**

**MAHATMA GANDHI*, by B. R. Nanda. The Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass. 542 pp. $6.50.*

Unemployment

(Continued from Page 1)

enormous amount the government pours into the economy adds up to prosperity.

But to John I. Snyder Jr., chairman and president of U.S. Industries Inc., the Administration "forecasts are more political that realistic." He says: "The Number One economic problem in the U.S. today, around which all other problems resolve, is unemployment. And despite the fact that factories are operating at high levels, the uncertainty of joblessness is going to be with us as long as can be seen . . . I think national productivity will increase but without substantial additions to the total labor force required."

His pessimism, he says, is based on increased spending for automation. In the past four years industry has spent $132 billion for labor-saving machinery. An index of the effect of automation, he says, is lower break-even points for industry. Steel, for example, can show profits operating at 60% of capacity; before the war it needed 80%.

GRIM PATTERN: Support for Snyder's view comes from **Business Week**, published by McGraw-Hill, in its analysis of the company's survey. It points out that two-thirds of capital spending will go for modernization of equipment. In addition, business expects record outlays for research and development. Business leaders predict that the effect of this spending will be to raise capacity 11% in the next three years while sales go up 18% in the same period. But employment, they say, will only go up 8% in three years and productivity will increase 6% this year and 3% a year for three years thereafter.

N.Y. **Post** economist Sylvia Porter concludes: "We are building up to a grim pattern of chronic, long-term unemployment in the Sixties as our labor force balloons while our industrial capacity becomes vastly more efficient."

Economist W. S. Woytinsky, writing in the **New Leader** (April 13), takes a similar view. He says: "A substantial reduction of unemployment by the end of 1959 is highly improbable. The promise given to the people by the Council of Economic Advisers rests on wishful thinking."

NO JOBS IN SIGHT: He points out that

Herblock, Washington Post
"Do you have to bring up technicalities?"

to reach a level of 3,000,000 unemployed, the economy must absorb 1,700,000 people currently out of work in addition to 1,000,000 people entering the labor market for the first time (school graduates, housewives, etc). To do this the economy would have to produce a gross national product of $500 billion in 1959—a one-year jump of 10.5%. He says: "There is not the slightest indication that such an economic upswing is in the making, and it is difficult to visualize the factors which would originate it."

He adds: "There will be virtually no [job] openings in manufacturing, mining and transportation, which accounted for more than 40% of all non-agricultural employment before the last recession. In addition, there will be very few openings in wholesale and retail trade, which accounted for another 20% and is now passing through rapid technical transformation." New jobs, therefore, must come from construction, finance, service industries and government. It seems highly improbable that these could expand enough to make a dent in the unemployment rolls.

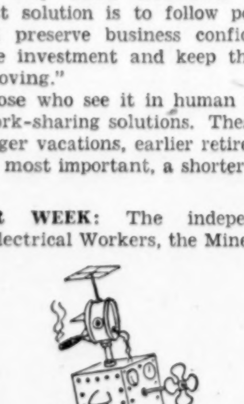
Woytinsky concludes: "There is a very slim chance that economic recovery and growth will absorb or reduce mass unemployment. It is more likely that the disequilibrium between the labor demand and the available labor force . . . will become increasingly serious, even if we learn to eliminate periodic recessions."

SAD STATISTICS: A close look at the unemployment statistics for March, which evoked glee from the Administration, also supports the grim view. Although employment rose to 63,828,000 and unemployment declined by 387,000, there were also these factors: (1) there are still 4,362,000 jobless; (2) of these, two-thirds are long-term unemployed, most unskilled and semi-skilled workers; (3) the number of unemployed for 15 weeks or longer rose by 80,000 during March to a total of 1,500,000; (4) those working a short week increased 15,000 to a total of 1,049,000; (5) 74 areas are designated as having "substantial unemployment," last year there were 70.

What to do about chronic unemployment, even to those who recognize it as a problem, is a puzzle. A business view put forward in the April issue of the First National City Bank **Newsletter** says: "The best solution is to follow policies that will preserve business confidence, encourage investment and keep the recovery moving."

But those who see it in human terms prefer work-sharing solutions. These include longer vacations, earlier retirement age, and, most important, a shorter work week.

30-HOUR WEEK: The independent United Electrical Workers, the Mine, Mill



& Smelter Workers and West Coast longshoremen have indicated they will fight for a shorter week with no reduction in pay at the bargaining table. AFL-CIO Textile Workers president William Pollock advocated a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay to prevent workers from ending up on the "economic scrap-heap."

Some local leaders of the auto union and a committee of the union's unemployed have sounded the slogan: "30 for 40." They got Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) to agree to sponsor a bill for a 30-hour week. But when the union's top leaders would not go along, he changed it to a 35-hour week proposal.

The official AFL-CIO program to end unemployment has a plank supporting a 35-hour week. But at labor's unemployed conference in Washington on April 8, none of the top brass stressed it in their speeches. With a record of not one piece of pro-labor legislation passed in this session of Congress, the labor leaders seemed to feel a shorter work-week bill was "unrealistic."

But on April 6, 1933, a bill for a 30-hour week passed the Senate, sponsored by then Sen. Hugo L. Black. In a radio speech he said: "A work week of 30 hours and a work day of six hours without a decrease in wages . . . would put 4,000,000 back to work in a very short time." The bill was killed in the House on pressure from the White House which preferred the NRA program.

TIME FOR ACTION: In 1935 AFL president William Green wrote: "The 30-hour bill . . . seeks more equitable distribution of income. It is a plan to bring about basic readjustments in our social and economic order . . . People who oppose the 30-hour week . . . are repeating arguments which were made 100 years ago against the establishment of the 10-hour day, and 50 years ago against the 8-hour day."

But to industrialist Snyder the shorter work week is no panacea. He says: "Neither a shorter work week nor a faster rate of national economic growth is going to go very far toward lowering the current high unemployment." For a solution he suggests: "There's an urgent necessity now for government and labor and management to begin to pool their brains in order to lessen the impact of this trend. It's not going to be an overnight job."

For labor the watchword could come from Green: "We can no longer wait for automatic functioning of economic forces to restore normal balance and eliminate unemployment."

Pentagon amok

(Continued from Page 1)

stable than ever.

- The threat of "unleashing" Chiang Kai-shek has neither toppled the Peking government nor enhanced Chiang's position.
- The Baghdad Pact and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization are falling apart and rent with internal dissension.
- "Massive retaliation against communist aggression" has remained an empty threat. The civil wars in Vietnam and Korea could not be palmed off as caused by "communist aggression" and the socialist world has developed its own capacity for massive retaliation.
- Racing to the "brink of war" scared America's allies more than those we were racing to head off.

THE REAL CAUSES: None of Dulles' policies worked out as he had planned. Economic blockade did not prevent China's "big leap forward." Military alliance did not prevent Baghdad from dropping out of the Baghdad Pact. Socialist ideas have been spreading in Asia and Africa, not as the result of "communist aggression and subversion" but as the result of local needs and aspirations and the example set by China and the Soviet Union. Military build-up and threat failed to create the hoped for "internal stresses and strains" within the Soviet Union or halt the incredible progress of Soviet economy.

But Dulles' policies, however, did revive West German power to the degree that it is beginning to dominate Western Europe and alarming many allies of the U.S. They also increased enormously the power of the Pentagon brass, who seem bent on a reckless rampage that is endangering world peace.

BONN-PARIS AXIS: At the recent four-power (U.S., Britain, France and West Germany) working party conference in London, the German and French representatives—Bonn has drawn Paris into its orbit—refused to support British Prime Minister Macmillan's tentative proposal for a Central European zone in which armaments would be limited under an effective inspection system. The conference ended without agreement. The British press noted the danger of the Western powers discarding proposals to which some members are unyieldingly opposed. The **Scotsman** said:

Neues Deutschland, Berlin

"This might mean that there was very little to negotiate about, and would please only those who do not want negotiation."

There were other obstacles developing in the path of a successful East-West Geneva meeting. U.S. planes continued their provocative flights in the air space over 10,000 feet from West Germany to Berlin—despite official British protest and in defiance of Soviet warnings that they endangered other aircraft. The U.S. insists it has the right to fly its planes at any altitude it pleases. This provoked sharp criticism in the British Parliament and press. Even the conservative **Times** of London said:

"What causes anxiety . . . is the possibility that the Pentagon, having successfully rammed home its point . . . may now decide that yet further risks can safely be taken."

NOT TODAY, COMRADE: The momentum of the Dulles policies seemed to have impelled the Pentagon to bizarre lengths. Columnist Marquis Childs reported (N.Y. **Post**, April 14) that members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy have been told the Pentagon is looking to a 60-megaton (60,000,000-ton) H-bomb. The bomb dropped on Hiroshima was 15-kiloton (15,000-ton).

According to testimony published by Congress on April 5, Gen. Thomas S. Power, commander of the Strategic Air Command, pleaded for more bombers and missiles, and a 24-hour airborne alert system. Although he denied that his proposals meant a policy of "the sky is the limit," he said:

"Our real mission, you might say, is to have that Russian planner get up from his table every morning and turn to Mr. Khrushchev and shake his head and say, 'Today is not the day, comrade.'"

A DEAD END: In a letter to the N.Y. **Times** (April 17), the distinguished military analyst Walter Millis said he was "shocked" by this statement from a man "into whose hands we have placed the world's most staggering apparatus of mass destruction." He added:

"Can we believe that this is even a remotely accurate concept of the nature of the international world and the action of the colossally destructive forces for which Gen. Power is in part directly responsible? Does Gen. Power, from his table, ring the White House telephone every morning and say: 'Today is not the day, Mr. President?'"

Dulles' policies have brought the U.S. to a foreign policy dead end. History may conceivably record that his genius lay, as a Washington wag has reportedly said, in an infinite capacity to take planes. The question now is: Can Secy. Herter and President Eisenhower, who no longer has a "superman" to lean on, lead the U.S. to a sane foreign policy?

HERTER'S PAST: A sane U.S. foreign policy as envisaged by even such hard-headed men as George F. Kennan, Walter Lippmann, Harold Stassen and Sen. Mansfield (D-Mont.), would accept the socialist countries as competitors and not enemies; as tough negotiators at a conference table but desirous of ending the cold war so they can devote their full energies to fulfilling their socialist plans. Such a policy would also recognize the universal, revolutionary demand of all peoples for political freedom, economic progress and social change.

Herter's background seems to provide little hope for such understanding on his part. His 12 years in the Massachusetts House of Representatives was undistinguished. During ten years in Congress, his major achievement was, as a member of a Congressional mission, to sell the Marshall Plan to West Europe in 1948.

During his four years as Governor of Massachusetts, he collided with labor by three times invoking the state's 1947 Slichter Act—which permits a governor to order seizure of a plant where a strike threatens to disrupt distribution of goods and services essential to public health and safety. He helped establish a state commission to investigate communism and subversive activities which later published 85 names of alleged subversives and was roundly condemned by the state Civil Liberties Union.

NO STRONG MAN: The President, himself in doubtful health, has often demonstrated his inability to grasp the significance of world events; he has always been dependent on authority delegated to a strong personality.

As for Herter's strength, he once described himself as "Number two man in a one-man show." It is likely that he will still play second fiddle to those interests which Dulles represented.

Under the circumstances, a great responsibility falls on the shoulders of the more forward-looking persons in Congress, such as Sen. Mansfield, Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.). And especially on the shoulders of the American people themselves to propel U.S. foreign policy in the direction of sanity in the forthcoming East-West negotiations.

Move to clear Sacco-Vanzetti fails

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI (c.) AND NICOLA SACCO (r.)

EARLIER THIS MONTH the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was asked in a bill introduced in the State Legislature by Rep. Alexander J. Cella to clear the names of Sacco and Vanzetti, executed in 1927 after a trial which stirred the conscience of the world.

A hearing was held on April 2 in the State House in Boston at which many persons who figured in the trial and the attempts to vindicate Sacco and Vanzetti testified.

On April 8 the proposal for a posthumous pardon was turned down by a majority of the Legislative Committee on the Judiciary on the ground that legislative action would infringe on the constitutional prerogatives of the executive branch. The report said: "We are not unmindful of what happened in the case. We neither condone nor criticize the action taken by the courts." There were no dissenters, but several members did not vote.

On April 13, without debate and without a record vote, the House killed the bill. Said Professor emeritus Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr. of Harvard, a long-time defender of Sacco and Vanzetti: "The prickings of conscience have finally moved the Legislature to consider the case. We might succeed after four or five tries."

Magnuson's call for a new look

SEN. WARREN G. MAGNUSON's dramatic call for a "new look" at the Eisenhower administration's foreign policy, including trade with China, brought a standing ovation from delegates at the convention of the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Seattle April 6. His talk preceded the adoption of a resolution calling for trade with China as a step towards world peace and to alleviate unemployment.

Magnuson said: "It seems to me those who make our foreign policy just sit around and let one crisis after another develop before anything is done about it . . . I would rather lose a little of what they call 'face' than start a catastrophe that would find 20,000,000 of our people killed before we even got started."

Future historians, Magnuson said, will regard as stupid our policy of pretending that "700,000,000 Chinese people simply do not exist."

The convention's major foreign policy declaration called for:

- The cessation of any future testing of nuclear weapons and no extension of nuclear weapons to other nations. The Atoms for Peace program, originally proposed by the U.S.A., should be expanded through the UN for the benefit of all mankind.
- Negotiations as the means for settling the German question and the Berlin dispute but with guarantees that Germany as a reunified nation shall not be permitted to possess, manufacture or be supplied with conventional or nuclear weapons which would give her the ability to wage war.
- An end to the use of force and violence against colonial people demanding freedom and independence.
- Increased economic aid to the underdeveloped countries by the U.S.A.
- Mutual disarmament, step by step, and the end of the worldwide traffic in arms and military equipment by any nation.
- End of the boycott of world trade in non-strategic goods to the Socialist countries and the elimination of restrictions on travel for Americans which have prevented the free exchange of union delegations between all countries of the free world.

Memorial for Bayer in New York Apr. 29

A MEMORIAL MEETING for Theodore Bayer, late secretary of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, will be held on Wednesday, April 29, at 8 p.m. at the New York Center, 227 W. 46th St., New York City. Through a typographical error in last week's GUARDIAN the address of the New York Center was given incorrectly as 64th St.

A program of tributes and music has been planned.

TRADE UNIONS ARE TARGET

House probers in Chicago May 5

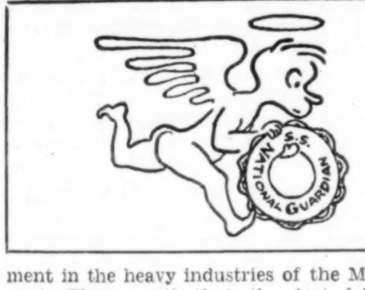
CHICAGO HAS JOINED Pittsburgh and Los Angeles on the list of cities to be favored by a visit from the House Committee on Un-American Activities during what promises to be one of the busiest years for the Congressional heresy hunters. On May 5 the committee will open a two-day hearing in Chicago's Federal Building.

According to Chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), the purpose of the hearing will be to investigate "subversive infiltration" in the nation's defense industries. The Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights called this explanation "camouflage for a flagrant attack on unions and the constitutional rights of American workers."

Among those subpenaed for the hearing are members and former members of the United Packinghouse Workers and of Tool and Die Local 113 of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists.

THE AIM: Some unionists regard the hearing as an attempt to weaken the unions in the face of growing unemployment in the heavy industries of the Midwest. They recall that the last labor investigation of the committee in the area in 1952 was timed to coincide with a strike at the International Harvester plant and negotiations for a new contract in the meat packing industry.

Chief target of the committee in the recent Pittsburgh hearing were leaders of the independent United Electrical Workers. In Los Angeles in February leaders of the Mexican-American community, youth leaders and school teachers were quizzed.



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SOCIAL SCIENCE FORUMS MAY DAY CELEBRATION. "Cuba and You," An Eyewitness Account by Joseph North, May 1, 8:30 p.m., Adelphia Hotel, 13 & Chestnut. Adults $1, Youth 50c. Call EV 6-3560.

NEW YORK

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Sunday, April 26, 8:30 p.m.
Tuesday, April 28, 8:30 p.m.
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FORUM-LECTURE
Speaker: **DR. OTTO NATHAN**
Subject: The Politics of World Peace.
WED., APRIL 29, 8 P.M. Good citizenship League Hall, 140-42 Sanford Av. (nr Main St.) Flushing. Contribution $1. Sponsor: Queens United Independent-Socialist Committee.

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Tues., May 5, 6:30 p.m.
Fraternal Club House, 110 W. 48 St.
Contrib: 49c. Ausp: Trade Press Comm.

Militant Labor Forum
RICHARD LOPEZ
"The Revolutionary Struggle in Cuba & The Dominican Republic"
Fri. April 24 8:30 p.m.
116 University Pl. Contrib. 50c.

- - - - - -

JOINT MAY DAY CELEBRATION
Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party
Featured Speakers: **Tom Kerry,** Ch'mn, SWP, N.Y. Local; **Martha Curti,** YSA representative. Meeting followed by a May Day Social. Militant Forum Hall, 116 Univ. Pl. Fri., May 1, 8 p.m. Cont. $1.

METROPOLITAN FRATERNAL CLUB
GREETS MAY DAY
Fri., May 1, 8:45 p.m.
Talk Discussion Refreshments
Guests invited Admission free
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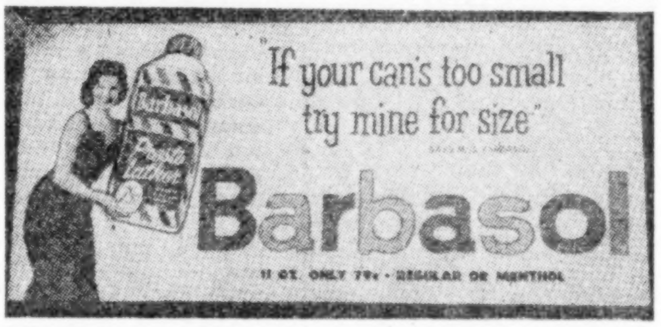
THE GALLERY

BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORP. (BOAC) advises in its ads: "If you are thinking of going to Africa anytime in the future, you'd better make plans now. You'll want to see Africa while it's still unspoiled." . . . It is official policy of the Ministry of Agriculture in Iran to refuse to hire pretty girls because "they spend too much time on their make-up and disrupt office routine." . . . Britain's Civil Service Union is probably the world's most vertical union. According to the London **Daily Herald:** "Among its 20,000 members it numbers the Queen's personal maid, restorers of mummies in museums, beefeaters at the Towers of London, glass-eye fitters, tournament starters at golf courses in the royal parks, coastguards, a whole army of scrubwomen from government offices and managers of government-owned saloons."

THE NEW YORK SUBWAY SYSTEM collects a good income from advertising space in cars and on platforms. But a couple of recent ads raised a fuss. One is a car card reading: "The House of Delegates of the American Medical Association has taken no definite action on the possible connection between cancer and smoking. There is still considerable difference of opinion among medical authorities on this controversial subject." There is no indication in the ad whether it is paid for by tobacco companies or run free as a "public service." The other (reproduced below) by Barbasol Presto Lather



is being tested on 35 stations. According to the company's vice president, William H. Tirrell, reaction so far has been mostly favorable. Of the new corporate image he says: "A great many of our competitors charge 79c for a six-ounce can of shaving cream. . . . We give an 11-ounce can for 79c. So presenting an ad like this is a normal evolution. We're giving most of the best for the least, we reasoned, and we also have a big can. . . . A lot of people have small cans and we think they should know about the big one we have." . . . Glenn Saunders, public relations man for the Citizens Council of Montgomery, Ala., which blocked the showing of **The Defiant Ones** at a local theater, says the movie is "low-pressure, insidious propaganda that very likely would not be recognized for what it was."

IN AUGUST, 1945, AIR FORCE MAJOR Claude R. Eatherly led the A-bomb raid on Hiroshima. In 1947 he was mustered out of service and returned to a hero's welcome in Texas. But since that time he has been arrested several times for burglary. Last month he was accused of trying to rob a drive-in grocery in Dallas but instead of jail he was consigned to a veteran's hospital for psychiatric care. According to doctors, Eatherly is suffering from a "neurosis with psychotic manifestations" and "hallucinations that the Japanese are after him."

A Veteran's Administration psychiatrist says: "He was well adjusted before service and did have a good record in service. His mental breakdown is recognized as being precipitated by the service." Eatherly says: "I do feel I killed those people at Hiroshima. I wish I could die. I tried to commit suicide twice, but it didn't work." . . . London police took movie films of the people who marched from Aldermaston to London to protest the manufacture of H-bombs. But according to Chief Superintendent Eric Watson the film was strictly for "social purposes"—to be shown at police social functions. Labor MP Stephen Swingler was prepared to put a question in Parliament to the Home Secretary on whether public money was spent on police social films and, if so, why.

—**Robert E. Light**

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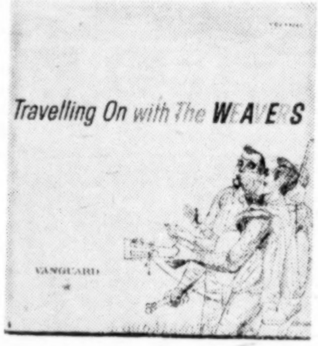

Travelling On with **The Weavers**—When disc jockeys start using terms like "Weavers-type story" it's clear that this unique singing group has become a national institution. In the finest Weavers' tradition is this great new album, **Travelling On,** a collection of wonderful songs from around the world translated into the inimitable Weavers' style. Five are recorded with Pete Seeger. List price, $4.98. **Guardian Price** $3.75

SIDE ONE: Twelve Gates to The City, Erie Canal, I Never Will Marry, Old Riley, Sinner Man, House of the Rising Sun, The Keeper, You Made Me a Pallet on the Floor. SIDE TWO: Mi Caballo, Kumbaya, Hopsha-Diri, Si Mi Quieres, State of Arkansas, Greenland Whale Fisheries, Eddystone Light, Gotta Travel On.

Paul Robeson — "Favorite Songs"

Favorite Songs is a wonderful new album produced by Monitor and made up from tapes obtained from Paul himself. Recorded in the U.S. in 1957, they're his favorite spirituals and songs of protest. All are accompanied by Alan Booth, except two with Lawrence Brown. Hammer Song is recorded with **Sonny Terry** on the harmonica and **Brownie McGhee,** guitar. Expertly recorded, with real closeup sound, this 12" LP belongs in every Robeson record library. List, $4.98. **Guardian** price $3.75

SIDE ONE: Hammer Song, (with Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee), Water Me From the Lime Rock, Scandalize My Name, Swing Low, Sweet Chariot. SIDE TWO: Hassidic Chant: Kaddish, Wanderer, Songs My Mother Taught Me, Vi Azoi Lebt Der Keyser (in Yiddish), The Minstrel Boy, The Orphan (in Russian), Zog Nit Keynmol (Song of the Warsaw Ghetto, sung in Yiddish and English), Joe Hill.

The Almanacs

The classic **Talking Union,** which nearly two hundred Guardian readers have bought in the past few weeks, is being offered once again for those who still haven't got around to ordering their copy. Here's the gallant **"Union Maid"** still heroically standing her ground 20 years after Lee Hays, Pete Seeger and Company made her famous; "Which Side Are You On?" asking the same urgent question, and the "Talking Union" as relevant today as ever. Great for the new generation. 40 minutes of wonderful listening for the old timers, this 12" LP is offered at the **Guardian's New Low Price** $3.50

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NEWSPAPER

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For infants
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For people on restricted diets
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the SPECTATOR

Overtime in Minneapolis

IT WAS A FINE reasonable request: "Tell us all about your trip in a shortish article." Sixteen states—62 days—66 lectures—4,000 new people—and the GUARDIAN wants it all summarized in 850 well-chosen words! I could use several columns to tell about the Guardian Clubs I met in Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Seattle, Minneapolis and Chicago; about the wonderful Sobell Committees or the **Jewish Currents** reader groups, or the Labor Forums, or the Unitarian Fellowship and Methodist Federation meetings, or the university campuses at which I spoke.

But I think I'll use this one to tell you about the extraordinary three-hour radio broadcast I had in Minneapolis. The Twin Cities Guardian Club had arranged for me to speak on Night Beat, an unusual program on radio station WDGY, 10 p.m. to 12 midnight, conducted by news commentator Robert West. West opens his program by interviewing a guest for some 20 minutes until listeners begin telephoning in their questions, which are broadcast.

WEST BEGAN BY ASKING ME why I had run as lieutenant-governor on an Independent-Socialist ticket in New York, what I meant by socialism, how socialism differs from communism, and what I thought of our "defense" spending.

ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN

Before we had been on the air eight minutes all ten switchboard lights were blinking furiously—and none of them were out again until we adjourned at 1 a.m. (an hour later than usual) with more than a hundred callers still unconnected.

What were the questions? Well, they ranged from thoughtful inquiries on unemployment, racial discrimination, the danger of attack if the U.S. were to cut down on armaments, freedom of religion or of such public discussions as Night Beat in the Soviet Union, the chances of increased foreign trade, and the dangers of automation to such inquiries as: "Do you approve of their killing 20,000,000 people in China just because they didn't want to have children separated from their parents?"

When I said, in response to the last, that I really didn't believe any such thing had happened, the young woman on the phone insisted: "It did so. I read it in **Life** and they couldn't print anything that didn't happen."

The next call was a refreshing contrast. A man's voice began abruptly: "Dr. Rubinstein, do you believe Eisenhower really wants war?"

"No, I said. "I don't think either Eisenhower or Stevenson or any of the big business interests behind our bi-partisan foreign policy actually want a war."

"Well, then, why do you think they all demand a big armaments budget unless they do believe we're in danger of attack?"

THIS GAVE ME A CHANCE to discuss the economic pressures for such a budget, the enormous profits it insured, the terrific crash we would have day after tomorrow if war spending ended (unless there were an incredibly large allocation of funds to such non-profit and low-profit fields as education, health, housing, etc.), and to the charitable conclusion that if I were DuPont I would be equally incapable of solving the contradiction of monopoly capitalism without a war budget.

The next few callers inadvertently struck a lighter note. One said that he and his wife both worked some distance out of town in opposite directions, and they therefore had two old jalopies. "But under socialism we couldn't have two cars in one family. So what would we do?" he ended challengingly.

Another phone call had a peremptory challenge: "Don't you believe we're heading for an economy of abundance?"

I babbled a delighted affirmative to, I thought, the first call from one of our own, but was disillusioned as he sternly continued: "Well, then, socialism won't work. It may be all right now in Russia and China where there's not enough to go 'round anyway. But it can't possibly work when you're through with scarcity and have plenty for everyone." After a confused interchange during which he declared that only technocracy could work when goods were plentiful, but refused to attempt either a definition of technocracy or an explanation of socialism's mysterious failure when the going got easy, the questions took a turn for the better.

THERE WERE SEVERAL LATE CALLERS who asked, in different ways, what purpose a protest vote could serve and I was able to conclude, at 12:55 a.m., with Debs' much quoted remark: "It's better to vote for what you want and not to get it than to vote for what you don't want and to get it."

The high point of the evening, however, came to me a week later with a letter forwarded to Chicago. This informed me that the following night, when the guest speaker was discussing Civilian Defense, two out of three of the incoming questions were still addressed to "the lady who was here last night" or "the lady who talked about socialism."

—Annette T. Rubinstein